

MUSICAL RHETORIC: AN AGENCY OF EXPRESSION IN HEINRICH
SCHÜTZ'S *MATTHÄUS-PASSION*

By

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ABSTRACT

This is an analysis of the ways in which the German Baroque composer Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672) incorporated musical rhetoric into his *Matthäus-Passion* (St. Matthew Passion). The utilization of musical rhetoric in compositions developed out of the *musica poetica* tradition, linked especially to North German Lutheran composers. *Musica poetica* thrived among composers of this religious sect primarily because of three principles: (1) what Lutheran's perceived as music's divine nature; (2) the concept of the affections; and (3) the development of rhetoric from speech. This study looks at all three of these aspects as well as the development of the Passion genre, and the major Italian influences that Schütz incorporated into his *Matthäus-Passion* that resulted in a work steeped in textual expression and dramatic presentation. Schütz regularly employed musical devices rooted in the *musica poetica* tradition immersed in the affections and understanding his use of affections and rhetoric provides insight into how he composed, his approach to narrative texts, and his commitment to textual expression through musical-rhetorical figures.

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PREFACE

The German Baroque composer Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672) began his tenure as composer for the court chapel in Dresden in 1617 following a three-year stint in Venice where he studied composition under Giovanni Gabrieli (1554-1612). Schütz was a central figure in the development of Protestant Lutheran sacred music in the seventeenth century and was essential in the transmission of Italian styles into Germany. He is especially important in the world of vocal music, as he combined a number of influences; his synthesis of ancient Greek concepts regarding oratory and rhetoric with Lutheran theology and ideas about the affections gave Schütz the necessary elements for him to become a master of *musica poetica*.

A significant amount has been written on the subjects of musical rhetoric and the affections in Baroque music in recent years, particularly regarding its use in the sacred music of North German composers. Bettina Varwig, recent Harvard graduate and now Senior Lecturer at King's College London, has written a number of sources on rhetoric in the music of Heinrich Schütz, including her dissertation entitled "Expressive Forms: Rethinking Rhetoric in the Music of Heinrich Schütz" and her article "'Mutato semper habitu': Heinrich Schütz and the Culture of Rhetoric."¹ Likely the most current and authoritative source on the development of the *musica poetica* tradition, which served as a primary source for this research, is Dietrich

¹ Bettina Varwig. "Expressive Forms: Rethinking Rhetoric in the Music of Heinrich Schütz" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006).; "'Mutato semper habitu': Heinrich Schütz and the Culture of Rhetoric." *Music and Letters* 90, no. 2 (May 2009).

Bartel's *Musica Poetica: Musical Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music*.²

Bartel's book serves as a detailed guide for anyone interested in understanding the development of affections and rhetoric during the German Baroque era. Ryan Board's dissertation entitled "Dietrich Buxtehude's 'Membra Jesu nostri': A study in Baroque affections and rhetoric" also serves as an informative guide into the affections and rhetoric.

To date, Howard Smither's four-volume *History of the Oratorio* is the definitive source on the development of the oratorio as a genre.³ The first two volumes serve as a primary source for the exploration of Schütz's narrative works as well as aspects of the passion oratorio. Basil Smallman's *The Background of Passion Music: J.S. Bach and his Predecessors* is probably the most authoritative source on the general development of passion music from the genres earliest impulses through the compositions of J. S. Bach.⁴ It served as a primary source for this research.

In the last few decades there has been a considerable amount of research on the life and compositions of Heinrich Schütz, whom many now credit as the most prominent German composer before J. S. Bach. Basil Smallman has written a number of works on Heinrich Schütz, including his book *Schütz*, which is likely the most current source on the general biography of the composer.⁵ Joshua Rifkin's article "Heinrich Schütz" serves as an extensive account of the life and work of

² Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

³ Howard Smither. *A History of the Oratorio*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

⁴ Basil Smallman. *The Background of Passion Music* (New York: Dover, 1957).

⁵ Smallman. *Schütz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Heinrich Schütz. Rifkin has also written a number of papers and articles on the composer, including “Schütz and Musical Logic” and “Towards a New Image of Heinrich Schütz.”⁶

This rhetorical overview of Schütz’s *Matthäus-Passion* illustrates an essential aspect of sacred vocal music development in the German Baroque. Though it is impossible to know his exact intentions, a detailed look into Schütz’s *Matthäus-Passion* provides a glimpse into his thought processes as a composer bound to text expression. *Matthäus-Passion* serves as a fitting example of the amalgamation of seventeenth-century rhetorical constructs and aspects of Italian dramatic composition. This study follows the Breitkopf und Härtel edition edited by Philipp Spitta, which is available in the public domain.

⁶ Joshua Rifkin. “Schütz, Heinrich.” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, 2007-, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45997>; “Schütz and Musical Logic.” *The Musical Times* 113, no. 1557 (Nov. 1972), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/956071>; “Towards a New Image of Heinrich Schütz. 1.” *The Musical Times* 126, no. 1713 (Nov. 1985), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/965034>.

CHAPTER 1

HEINRICH SCHÜTZ AND HIS ART

The Development of *Musica Poetica*

The musical world in which Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672) lived was one of regions undergoing significant phases of transition. While some areas of Europe, during the early Baroque maintained many traditions from the Renaissance, such as England, others readily accepted new musical trends. Likewise, some regions, namely German-speaking regions, were hesitant to leave behind traditions from previous centuries, while at the same time they looked to the future for new developments. The influx of Italianate musical ideas and styles into German territories serve as an example of a significant influence on the development of musical trends during the early Baroque. It therefore comes as no surprise that with so many regions developing in their own way, there originated various blends of styles and influences. Dietrich Bartel suggests:

The Italian rejection of music's numerological and cosmological significance in favor of its direct affective and aesthetic effect led to a form of musical expression which focused on a modern aesthetic principle of expressing and stirring the affections rather than explaining the text. ... Instead of introducing an intermediate level of linguistic and theological significance to the musical phenomena, as was done in Lutheran Germany, the Italians sought to speak directly and immediately to the senses.¹

¹ Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 59.

Beyond larger geographic musical trends, differing attitudes regarding music's role existed. This was especially true within religious denominations where music served, in most cases, as a crucial function in churches, both Catholic and Protestant. Because Schütz's duties were primarily to the Lutheran church, this exploration will deal almost exclusively with Lutheran practices. Developments and practices in Lutheran Germany will be discussed in greater detail following a look at another key cultural aspect of the early Baroque that had a profound influence on music.

Toward the beginning of the seventeenth century, thinkers began developing a new philosophical approach called Rationalism. This contemporary ideology was the natural product of humanism—a trend originating in the previous centuries and demonstrated through the writings of René Descartes (1596-1650).² Rationalism pervaded in the higher levels of society but was not the only philosophical influence taking shape at the time. Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) and Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) offered differing opinions on the human condition.³ Alongside changing philosophical concepts were evolving aesthetic intentions in art, literature, music, and architecture. As Douglas Seaton states in his *Ideas and Styles in the Western Musical Tradition*, "Unlike the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, [artists] intended not simply to depict or imitate reality (Aristotelian mimesis) in an

² Douglas Seaton. *Ideas and Styles in the Western Musical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 163. Seaton references Descartes' *Discourse on Method* (1637) and his abandoning of the authority of the church, scripture, and earlier philosophy for absolute truth and reason.

³ Ibid., 164. "The French philosopher Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) offered a view of the human condition that argued for faith, not reason, as a way of spiritual fulfillment. Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) attempted to synthesize reason and empiricism, human intellect and human will, and Nature and God."

aesthetically satisfying manner but, rather, to impose a particular state of mind on the audience.”⁴ These various states of mind were referred to as the *affections*—also known as passions, or humors.

Since the Renaissance, theorists had categorized music as two sub-disciplines within the Greek system of education: *musica theoretica (naturalis, speculativa)* and *musica practica (artificialis)*. *Musica theoretica* was itself part of the *quadrivium* or mathematical disciplines, which include arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy; whereas, *musica practica* became associated with the *trivium* or liberal arts, which consisted of grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric.⁵

The late Renaissance saw a shift in emphasis from the *quadrivium* to the *trivium*, causing an interest in music’s role as a rhetorical art to become more important. At the same time, German composers began to advocate for a third division of the musical realm called *musica poetica*, which combined the established truths of *musica theoretica* and promoted the Renaissance concept of the composer as artist who is responsible for revealing the meaning of text in and through music.⁶ In subsequent years the term *musica poetica* became widely accepted and employed by composers and theorists. It is important to note that the majority of German musicians favored the concept of divine order—understood as arithmetic proportions occurring in Nature—as was expressed in natural rationalism. This

⁴ Ibid., 166.

⁵ Ryan Board. “Dietrich Buxtehude’s “Membra Jesu nostri”: A study in Baroque affections and rhetoric” (DMA diss., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2006), 12.

⁶ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 19.

was linked to a Protestant musical outlook grounded in cosmological and theological principles.⁷

Musica poetica thrived largely because of three principles important to German Lutherans: (1) the concept of the affections, (2) music's divine nature, (3) and the persuasiveness of rhetorical ideas. The first concept of *musica poetica* to be discussed is music's ability to influence the listener. The doctrine of affections is used to describe this phenomenon by means of combining ideas about the human condition and passions of the soul. In general, Lutheran Germany still viewed the human experience as one linked to a Christian, theocentric model, an interpretation of the Greek doctrine of ethos involving the order of natural sounds as an outgrowth of the mathematical proportions of intervals, a result of the perfect creation of the universe.⁸

It was through two publications that concepts of the affections spread and became widely discussed. The first was Descartes's *Les Passion de l'âme* (The Passions of the Soul) in 1649, followed by Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* in 1650. These two works culminated in detailed discussions of the physiological responses related to the affections as well as specific connections to other disciplines, including rhetoric, mathematics, temperaments of the body, and medicine.⁹ The concept of the affective powers of music was not new to philosophers and musicians during the Baroque period. These ideas date to

⁷ Ibid., 20-21.

⁸ Board, "Dietrich Buxtehude's "Membra Jesu nostri," 14.

⁹ Ibid., 15.

classical Antiquity with the doctrine of *ethos* as supported by Aristotle and Plato: “This doctrine is the belief that music can powerfully affect human character and behavior.”¹⁰

The Greeks further suggested four temperaments to explain various physiological human states, which included the melancholic, sanguine, choleric, and phlegmatic. They were each paired with a primary element (earth, wind, fire, or water). To create a temperament within the body, one combined two of the four primary elemental attributes: hot or cold with either wet or dry.¹¹ Table 1.1 illustrates how the combined temperaments are related to various bodily organs and fluids.

Table 1.1. The Temperaments and their Complements.¹²

Temperament	<i>Sanguine</i>	<i>Choleric</i>	<i>Melancholic</i>	<i>Phlegmatic</i>
Humor and Organ	Blood/ Heart	Yellow Bile/ Liver	Black Bile/ Spleen	Phlegm/ Brain
Elements and Planet	Air/ Mercury	Fire/ Mars	Earth/ Saturn	Water/ Neptune
Attributes	Hot and Wet	Hot and Dry	Cold and Dry	Cold and Wet
Season	Spring	Summer	Fall	Winter
Time of Day	Morning	Noon	Evening	Night
Age	Youth	Young Adult	Older Adult	Aged
Affections	Love, Joy	Anger, Fury	Sorrow, Pain	Peacefulness, Moderate Joy, Sorrow

¹⁰ Seaton, *Ideas and Styles*, 3.

¹¹ Board, “Dietrich Buxtehude’s “Membra Jesu nostri,” 15.

¹² Ibid., 16.

Commentators of the day believed that one's current temperament was a combination of physiology and astronomical factors based on one's birth date; however, the human psyche could be moved from one temperament to another through various external stimuli, including music. Bartel summarizes the relationship between music and the temperaments:

The numerical proportions, which are at the root of all created matter and life, are the same ones which are reflected by musical intervals. Thus music, the audible form of the numerical proportions, facilitates an aural perception of the realities which lie at the root of all natural phenomena.¹³

Since music maintains a numerological basis in structure, it represents an archetype for God's perfect creation and therefore has the capability more readily to move the affections. Furthermore, for a composer to participate in this process he or she needed to ensure that the text and the music were of the same affection and not in contradiction to one another. There had to be a direct association between the quadrivial (mathematical) and trivial (literary) aspects of the work.¹⁴

These strongly-held beliefs in the numerological aspects of music were a part of the carefully-ordered society of German Lutheranism. Martin Luther championed Greek ideals regarding music as mirroring the order of the created universe, as well as the concept of music as a gift from God. He claimed the art as the greatest treasure on earth, next to the Word of God: "The divine origin of music established God as the author and source of the natural phenomenon of sound, including the

¹³ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 38.

¹⁴ Ibid., 36-39. Bartel discusses in more detail musical pathology and the physiological responses to external stimulation.

world of tones.”¹⁵ This belief, consequently, afforded the composer a sense of divine powers, providing them with access to sacred truths. Since mathematics and numerical proportions of intervals were seen as divinely ordered, speculative music theory continued to thrive under Luther’s influence. “This belief proposed that the very essence of God is revealed in and through the musical proportions. Through music the invisible becomes audible.”¹⁶ Luther deemed music as one of the noblest arts, making remarkable statements such as the following:

But when learning is added to all of this, and artistic music, which corrects, develops, and refines the natural music, then at last it is possible to taste with wonder (yet not to comprehend) God’s absolute and perfect wisdom in his wondrous work of music. Here it is most remarkable that one single voice continues to sing the tenor, while at the same time many other voices trip lustily around it, exulting and adorning it in exuberant strains and, as it were, leading it forth in a divine dance, so that those who are the least bit moved know nothing more amazing in the world. But any who remain unaffected are clodhoppers indeed and are fit to hear only the words of dung-poets and the music of pigs.¹⁷

A theocentric philosophy as well as cosmo-theological understanding of music as a discipline flourished among German Lutheran musicians. During this period most Lutheran musical treatises quoted a passage of scripture taken from the Apocryphal book the Wisdom of Solomon (ch. 11.20): “But thou hast ordered all things by measure and number and weight.”¹⁸ This was directly linked to Luther’s influence and dealt primarily with proportional significance involving intervals and

¹⁵ Ibid., 3.

¹⁶ Ibid., 3.

¹⁷ Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin. “Luther and Music.” In *Music in the Western World, A History in Documents* (Belmont: Schirmer, 2008), 87.

¹⁸ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 5.

meter. These ratios provided a way to explain a related affect. Consonant intervals, for example, were thought to possess perfect proportional relationships, whereas dissonant intervals would be deemed “devilish.” The further one moved away from the perfect unison, or “God,” the more unstable and distant one became from the Creator.

The third, and arguably most salient, principle of *musica poetica* was the persuasiveness of rhetorical ideas and significance of text that thrived during the seventeenth century. During this period, as a result of growing interest in humanism in the Renaissance, attention to textual expression through music began to develop as well as the relationship between music and rhetoric.¹⁹ As Ryan Board states:

A macroscopic anthropological shift, intimately bound to the Humanist movement, took place that gave text priority over the music. Working out the specific meaning of the text and appropriately expressing it was the goal. Alongside this shift, the Protestant Reformation, Mannerism, and new developments in opera also involved a revolution of the individual spirit.²⁰

This trend was seen across Europe; however, it was in the region of Northern Germany that a link between literary rhetorical practices and a “musical rhetoric” was established and perhaps reached its highest expression. A systematic approach was created to identify, define, and equate already existing musical figures with terms adopted from literary rhetoric. Essential to musicians was the connection between text and music and portrayal of the affections. It was important for words to elicit specific affections from the listener; therefore, theorists created lists

¹⁹ Ibid., 57.

²⁰ Board, “Dietrich Buxtehude’s “Membra Jesu nostri,” 17.

matching individual words with a favored affective response. Writers such as Johannes Nucius (c. 1556-1620) and Johann Andreas Herbst (1588-1666) commented on the importance of alignment between word and music.

Nucius stated:

that to these must also be added the other embellishments of the harmonia, beginning with the affective words: rejoicing, weeping, fearing, lamenting, bewailing, mourning, raging, laughing, and pitying, which are expressed and painted through the variety and sound of the notes.²¹

As Herbst opined:

because I recognize that the various affections can be expressed in any one modus, I find it appropriate to be more specific and to elaborate on this matter. First, the words upon which the composition is to be based must be well pondered, their nature and properties being carefully observed and considered, beginning with the affective words.²²

An interest in rediscovering the intellectual, social, and artistic potential of rhetoric emerged during the late fifteenth century. This rhetorical language or, “art of eloquent speech,” originated as an oral skill in Greece in the fifth century B.C.²³ Most educational institutions adopted instructional manuals, which consisted of straightforward presentations of rhetorical theories by Cicero and/or Quintilian. These primary formulas for rhetorical procedures form the basis for our introduction to rhetoric today. The five primary activities for the orator are identified as: invention (*inventio*), disposition (*dispositio*), elocution (*elocutio*), memory (*memoria*), and performance (*actio* or *pronunciatio*). The sixteenth-century

²¹ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 51.

²² Ibid., 51.

²³ Board, “Dietrich Buxtehude’s “Membra Jesu nostri,” 20.

treatise *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* (1512) by Erasmus of Rotterdam is likely the most significant and influential source for rhetorical studies in the Renaissance. As Bettina Varwig states:

A solid Ciceronian himself, Erasmus was primarily interested in reviving for the humanist age the binding force of classical Latin expression, a tradition that had been increasingly obscured in medieval rhetorical writings of the preceding centuries, which were often intended to instruct civil servants in the art of composing official documents.²⁴

By 1600, editions of *De copia* had spread across Europe and served as a principal source for rhetorical education that continued until the eighteenth century. Other theorists took Erasmus's ideas and either expanded or formed their own interpretations of his rhetorical procedures. Important contributors include Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638) with his *Orator libri sex informatus* of 1612 and music theorist Lucas Lossius (1508-1582) who created his own abbreviated version of *De copia*. However, it was Joachim Burmeister (1564-1629) who served as the pioneer of the *musicus poeticus* concept. Burmeister himself had the privilege of receiving his lessons in grammar and rhetoric from Lossius, which makes it plausible that, through him, Erasmus's ideas formed one of the central sources for Burmeister's rhetorical concepts and terminology.²⁵ His *Musica Poetica* (1606) offers new vocabulary to describe the equivalents of grammar and rhetoric evident in the poetry of music.

²⁴ Bettina Varwig. "Mutato semper habitu': Heinrich Schütz and the Culture of Rhetoric." *Music and Letters* 90, no. 2 (May 2009): 217, <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/mal/summary/v090/90.2.varwig.html> (accessed February 6, 2014).

²⁵ Ibid., 219.

A number of other theorists incorporated rhetorical ideas into their work. One of the first to link rhetorical ideas to musical expression of the affections was Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680), a German Jesuit theologian, mathematician, and music theorist. He introduced the processes of *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* and categorized musical-rhetorical figures. Later German Baroque composer and theorist, Johann David Heinichen (1683-1729), stated:

What a bottomless ocean we still have before us merely in the expression of words and the affects in music. And how delighted is our ear, if we perceive in a well-written church composition or other music how a skilled composer has attempted here and there to move the emotions of an audience through his refined and text-related musical expression, and in this way successfully finds the true purpose of music.²⁶

The *Lateinschulen* or Lutheran Orthodox schools, were likely the most important Baroque institutions for the development and education of rhetoric. The discipline was mandatory in all such schools and became widely influential to a number of German Lutheran musicians. It was codified and was incorporated into schools and academies as a subject to be learned as part of the standard curriculum. It found a place in Lutheran Germany, where the clergy cultivated rhetoric in the literary genre of the sermon, or homily.²⁷

The structure of rhetoric involves five necessary steps, as outlined by Kircher: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *actio* or *pronunciato*; however, only the first three steps are normally relevant to the art of *musica poetica*. *Inventio* involves determining a subject and gathering pertinent information; *dispositio*

²⁶ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 52-53.

²⁷ Ibid., 65.

focuses on logically arranging the material; and the third step, *elocutio*, translates the various ideas and thoughts into words and sentences, adding necessary devices that lend the argument greater emphasis.²⁸ These can then be divided into subcategories. The German tradition of rhetorical structure aimed to emphasize the construction within a composition rather than the dramatic presentation; the German trend for composers to emulate the rhetorician rather than the actor differed greatly from the contemporaneous style in Italy, where the theatrical presentation was paramount.²⁹ This perhaps again serves to demonstrate the commitment of the Protestant German composers to a Lutheran-ordered society.

Within *elocutio*, or the third step, the subcategory *ornatus* included the rhetorical figures and tropes that were most influential to composers. Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* was arguably the most significant and authoritative source on tropes and figures throughout the Renaissance and Baroque periods. The figure or trope became a reflection of the text and the desired affection, which were eventually translated into musical figures.³⁰ As Bartel explains:

Tropes are understood as metaphoric expressions, while figures are described as deviations from the normal choice, order, or structure of words and sentences. It is above all these figures of speech, which serve to embellish, amplify, and vividly portray the thoughts, that were considered the most useful tools in presenting and arousing the affections.³¹

²⁸ Ibid., 66. For detailed descriptions and explanations of the rhetorical devices and their subcategories, see Bartel's summary on pages 66-70.

²⁹ Ibid., 67-68. Bartel makes an important point in recognizing the difference between German Lutheran and Italian composers.

³⁰ Board, "Dietrich Buxtehude's "Membra Jesu nostri," 22.

³¹ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 67.

Beliefs about the specific role of rhetoric, especially musical-rhetorical figures, are still widely debated today. Varwig argues that to presume Burmeister's work was simply to codify rhetorical procedures with musical figures is to look past a larger cultural trend occurring among composers, stating:

despite the twentieth-century tendency to construe the *musica poetica* tradition as primarily concerned with the figural expression of textual meaning and affect, the musical devices discussed in Burmeister's *Musica Poetica* of 1606 comprise for the most part syntactical procedures for varying, combining, and amplifying musical phrases[T]he term *musica poetica* in fact implied nothing more (or less) than a 'Kompositionslehre', or theory of compositional instruction...The new *musica poetica*, established as a discipline in its own right only in the sixteenth century, drew on elements of both [*musica theoretica* and *musica practica*] in order to provide aspiring composers with such instruction, aiming to make the 'nuts and bolts' of compositional practice pedagogically available.³²

Seeing *musica poetica* through a wider cultural lens also provides insight into a composer's processes and intentions. For the most part, composers were not only trying to create a more intimate relationship between the meaning and significance of texts and music, but also between themselves and the texts they chose. This reflected a manifestation of an inner authority that governed the composer's own personal relationship with the Creator and mirrored the shift of importance from the *quadrivium* to the *trivium*. This was not a fleeting trend, but an evolution in autonomous expression.³³

Composers found it necessary to work within the confines of newly-formed ideas about rhetoric and made substantive attempts to reflect textual significance through prescribed rules. In essence, "... composers were not merely matching

³² Varwig, "Mutato semper habitu," 219.

³³ Board, "Dietrich Buxtehude's 'Membra Jesu nostri,'" 17.

musical expression with self-expression, but rather altering musical expression with a set of guidelines governed by rhetorical structures.”³⁴ A detailed look into the application of rhetorical figures will be Chapter 4.

Schütz’s Stylistic Influences

Due to recent scholarship and the discovery of important documents and records, we now have a substantial amount of information on the life and work of Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672). He stands as the figure largely responsible for transmitting Italianate styles to Germany. Although his surviving output is almost entirely sacred, it is believed that he composed a small body of secular pieces, including what is believed to be the first German opera, though most of his secular music does not survive.³⁵ Schütz was born in Köstritz, near Gera, in western Saxony, what is now southeastern Germany.

At an early age, Schütz showed signs of interest in music and, through the assistance of Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel, received training in singing and organ at court. Moritz recognized Schütz’s potential and encouraged him to travel to Venice in 1609 to study with Giovanni Gabrieli (1554-1612). It was there that Schütz refined his craft, encountered new styles, and became the composer we admire today. Schütz received extensive lessons in traditional counterpoint and was exposed to a number of compositional trends. It was also during this period that Schütz composed and dedicated a book of madrigals (1611) to Landgrave

³⁴ Ibid., 22.

³⁵ David Schulenberg. *Music of the Baroque* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 144.

Moritz. He remained in Venice for three years and, following Gabrieli's death, returned to the court at Kassel in 1612. His second visit to Venice, 1628-29, was to study with Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643). While there he also had the opportunity to work with Alessandro Grandi (1586-1630). Thus, Schütz was one of the first major German composers to pursue an international education.

In 1619 he published his first edition of polychoral psalm settings, titled *Psalmen Davids*, followed by his *Cantiones sacrae*, a collection of polyphonic motets, in 1624. Schütz became familiar with the Venetian choral style during his first stint in Italy and published part one (of three) of his *Symphoniae sacrae* in 1629, which includes Latin polychoral works. As demonstrated in the example below, as well as in the commentary that is part of the caption, polychoral composition was a favored genre in Italy and Schütz made excellent use of it (see example 1.1). His polychoral output also suggests his commitment to the *stile antico*. In actuality, Schütz never abandoned the older style, including the contrapuntal conventions handed down from Orlande de Lassus (1530/32-1594) and Andrea Gabrieli (1532/33-1585), even though he was later greatly influenced by the theatrical works and newer styles of Monteverdi.³⁶ This combined with the fact that Schütz composed over such a long period of time and in so many different styles makes his body of music substantial yet sometimes difficult to categorize.

³⁶ Ibid., 146-147.

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al - le, al - le, al - le, al - le Kin - des -

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al - le, al - le, al - le, al - le Kin - des -

al - le Kin - des -

al - le Kin - des - kind, al - le, al - le, al - le, al - le Kin - des -

al - le, al - le Kin - des -

al - le Kin - des - kind, al - le, al - le, al - le, al - le Kin - des -

al - le Kin - des -

Example 1.1.

Heinrich Schütz, *Meine Seele erhebt den Herren*, SWV 49 Edited by Konrad Ameln. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1950, mm. 33-36. As evident in this example there are two distinct choirs set against one another. Antiphonal writing was common during this period and was likely a response to architectural innovations taking place within churches. For example, the illustrious Saint Mark's Basilica in Venice provided areas for separate choirs to be positioned. This style of writing, termed *cori spezzati*, flourished in Venice during the Renaissance and into the Baroque.

Although there is significant evidence that Schütz composed secular dramatic works, including a number of theatrical pieces for court festivals, the only secular work extant is his strophic song *Gesang der Venus-Kinder*.³⁷ What is believed to be

³⁷ Joshua Rifkin. "Schütz, Heinrich." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, 2007-, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45997> (accessed September 30, 2013). There is evidence Schütz wrote music for various celebrations that took place at both the courts of Dresden and Copenhagen. Linfield states, "As can be deduced from the poetic organization of some librettos, early German operas, including Schütz's *Dafne* (1627), are spoken plays with inserts of mostly strophic songs. Schütz's other theatrical works include *Zwo Comoedien* (1635), an operatic ballet, *Orpheo und Euridice* (1638), and *Theatralische neue Vorstellung von der Maria Magdalena* (1644). The music for these works is also lost.

the first German opera, Schütz's *Dafne* (1627), which could be characterized more as *Singspiel*, is no longer extant. According to Joshua Rifkin, "[The dramatic works] all lack the recitative and madrigal poetry of early Italian opera, and point rather to pieces with spoken dialogue."³⁸ Additional elements of Italian drama adopted by Schütz will be presented in the discussion of the *Passion Historie* in the following chapter.

Like most musicians and composers, Schütz was forced to navigate a complicated career path. Unfortunately, the greatest part of his professional life coincided with the Thirty Years' War, a period of turbulent small- and large-scale religious, social, and political upheavals that impacted much of central Europe. The war, which began in 1618, had a devastating impact on musical and artistic culture. Schütz himself was not immune to the conflicts, causing him to seek employment from a variety of sources. For the first part of Schütz's career he was employed at the court at Kassel, owing to the support of Landgrave Moritz; however, through increasing pressure from the Elector (Duke) Johann Georg I of Saxony, he took the position of Kapellmeister at Dresden in 1618. Although he remained in the post for the rest of his life, Schütz continued to travel, maintaining a temporary position in Denmark, a region where his work would eventually influence composers such as

³⁸ Ibid., 1.

Dietrich Buxtehude.³⁹ Fortunately, we have a number of letters in Schütz's hand that provide us with considerable insight into his life and career.⁴⁰

By invitation of the Elector of Saxony, Johann Georg I, Schütz made the court at Dresden his primary post. Dresden existed as one of the most important Protestant centers in Europe and hosted a rich musical life with Schütz at the center. As mentioned above, we have a number of documents providing detailed evidence of Schütz's work as well as other musical events that took place at court, including court correspondence, lists of musicians in the Hofkapelle, contracts, court account books and receipts, music and instrument catalogues, *Kantorei-ordnungen* (court orders), and court diaries, which provide a vivid look into the lives and work of Dresden's court musicians.⁴¹ In a letter from Schütz to the elector, dated 14 January 1651, we get a glimpse of the important role that Schütz played as Kapellmeister. He states that he provided music:

at many diverse festivities in the past, which occurred during this time at imperial, royal, electoral, and princely gatherings, in this country and abroad, but particularly at each and every one of your own royal children's weddings, and no less at the receiving of their sacred christenings as well...⁴²

Schütz's primarily legacy to the course of Western musical development was the bridge he created between Italian and German styles. The Italianate styles he

³⁹ Schulenberg, *Music of the Baroque*, 146.

⁴⁰ Gina Spagnoli. *Letters and Documents of Heinrich Schütz 1656-1672* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1990). This book provides a substantial and detailed source for these letters. They not only recount Schütz's life but also shed light on the social conditions and musical culture at the time, especially in Italy.

⁴¹ Curtis Alexander Price, *The early baroque era: from the late 16th century to the 1660s* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1994), 164.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 164.

brought back to Germany shaped not only his own works but also served as a foundation for a number of later composers. His introduction of Italian musicians at the Dresden court was another indication of his great interest in the national style. While in Dresden, following the end of the Thirty Years' War and the signing of the Peace of Westphalia on 24 October 1648, Schütz advocated rebuilding his sparse ensemble with musicians from Italy. This proved to be successful and at times controversial, perhaps in the fear that German Lutheran traditions were in danger of being corrupted by too much foreign and Catholic influence.⁴³

Schütz's works were so heavily steeped in the Italianate style that he, unlike most German Protestant composers, largely disregarded the Lutheran chorale as a model for sacred composition. Aside from brief occurrences and quotations, they almost never appear in his output. A major revival of Schütz's music occurred in Germany during the early twentieth century that elevated him to a new level of importance in German culture, especially in the realm of sacred music. Some claimed Schütz's music represents the archetype of sacred composition; however, because of his lack of chorale-based compositions, the German theologian Julius Smend's (1857-1930) label of Schütz as a "fifth Evangelist" dwindled. As Varwig states:

By the 1930s, when Schütz had finally become a known quantity in German cultural life, his appropriation for the liturgical cause was more or less complete. In 1935, the theologian Walter Blankenburg affirmed that Schütz's Passions, rather than Bach's, realised a genuine 'proclamation of the Word'; Blankenburg held up their authentically liturgical character – set against Bach's 'concert-hall' pieces – as representing the 'epitome of Protestant

⁴³ Ibid., 168-169. Spagnoli offers insight into the internal tensions that arose from Schütz's hiring of a number of Italians at court and its impact on the "ecclesiastics" and lay persons.

church music'. ...Yet despite such concerted efforts at validating this particular vision of Schütz, it remained unconvincing in certain respects. ...Blankenburg argued instead that 'we need to understand that the objective of Schütz's work is separate from the chorale. The Protestant chorale is congregational song. Schütz is intent on preaching through music'.⁴⁴

An interesting exception to his lack of interest in chorales, which in recent years has sparked a small body of research, is his *Musikalische Exequien* (SWV 279–281, 1636), written for the funeral of Prince Heinrich Posthumus von Ruess. Before the prince's death, he had his coffin secretly constructed according to his own detailed specifications, which included the engravings of personally chosen biblical and chorale verses.⁴⁵ Though the chorale melodies do not appear in the collections, the texts formed the basis for *Musikalische Exequien*.

Although Schütz made little use of the chorale, he was able to meet the demands of the clergy and reach the congregation through his concern and treatment of text, ultimately fulfilling the concerns of Lutheran teaching; the ideas of praise, devotion, and edification, along with pursuit of a personal relationship with God, were the foremost principles of Lutheran worship.⁴⁶ Schulenberg states:

Although he set texts in Italian and Latin, his greatest accomplishment was to adapt the primarily Italian style of the early Baroque to the rhythms and accents of the German language and to the texts of German writers, notably Luther's translation of the Bible. In the process he created a distinctive

⁴⁴ Bettina Varwig. *Histories of Heinrich Schütz* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 49.

⁴⁵ Gregory Johnston. "Textual Symmetries and the Origins of Heinrich Schütz's *Musikalische Exequien*." *Early Music* 19, no. 2, (May 1991): 213-214+216-225, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3127636> (accessed March 31, 2014). See this article for a detailed discussion on how Schütz constructed the work based on the textual layout on the coffin.

⁴⁶ Board, "Dietrich Buxtehude's "Membra Jesu nostri," 28.

personal idiom that was of great influence on several younger generations of northern composers.⁴⁷

Not only was Schütz concerned with the mechanical application of text alongside music but also their combined affective potential. This relationship was especially important because a primary concern for Lutheran clergy was the promulgation of religious texts for the laity. Methods used by clergy for the purpose of presenting sermon lessons varied and, in some cases, involved unusual means. A curious example was the use of the rhetorical device *prosopopeia*. As Gregory Johnston defines, “*Prosopopeia* is, if one wants to render it clearly, a Representation-Figure, whereby the orator assumes the charge of another person and speaks as that person; or also possibly introduces inanimate objects and speaks for them.”⁴⁸ It served primarily as a theological means of offering the consolation of resurrection over death as well as a lesson on being Christian to ensure salvation. In a time when infant mortality was high, diseases were common, and the ravages of war plagued much of the region, death was no stranger and funerals were a familiar event. During a funeral, when human emotion was vulnerable, the assurance of God’s grace and the pastor’s promise of the afterlife was an important belief to be stressed. The act of the orator taking on the identity of the deceased and speaking as that person allowed those in mourning to more readily accept the dogma expressed by the speaker. *Prosopopeia* soon found its way into the musical repertoire. According to

⁴⁷ Schulenberg, *Music of the Baroque*, 144.

⁴⁸ Gregory S. Johnston, “Rhetorical personification of the dead in 17th-century German funeral music: Heinrich Schütz’s ‘Musikalische Exequien’ (1636) and three works by Michael Wiedemann (1693).” *The Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 188, <http://jstor.org/stable/763552> (accessed March 31, 2014).

Gregory Johnston, Schütz adopted this device in his *Musikalische Exequien* through his musical design of Part III. Johnston suggests the bass part in the second choir, which is marked *beata anima*, personifies the soul of the dead prince who is being led to heaven by two soprano seraphim. Since the prince himself was a well-known bass, the correlation seems clear and probably would have been understood by the congregation attending his funeral (see example 1.2).⁴⁹

Figure 1.1 presents images of coffins in a similar design to that of the one commissioned for Posthumus's funeral. Figure 1.2 presents a schematic of the prince's coffin and the chorale verses engraved on the surface, which were then used as the basis for Schütz's composition.

⁴⁹ Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz*, 110.

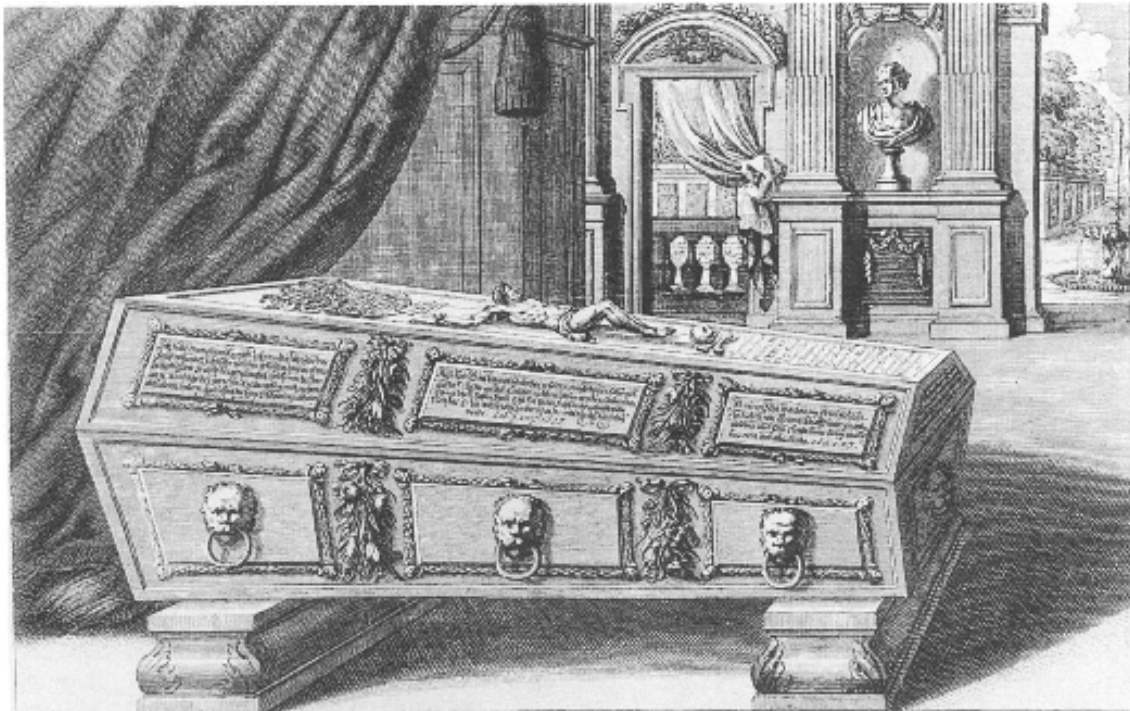
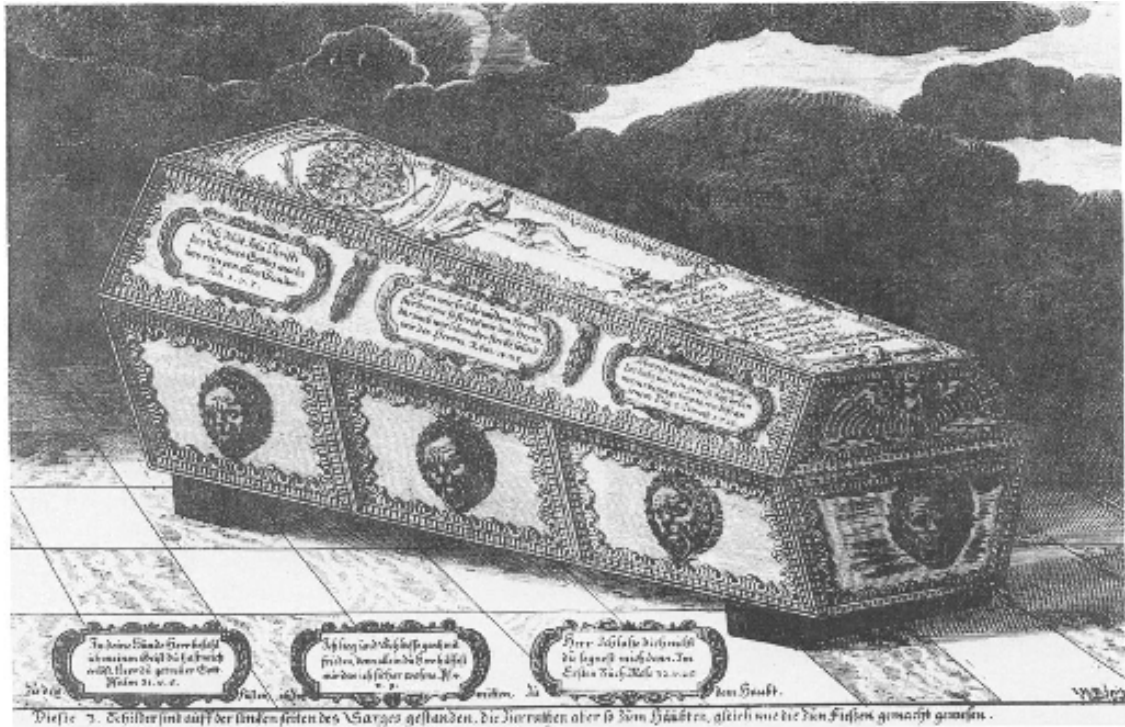


Figure 1.1⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Johnston, "Textual Symmetries," 217.

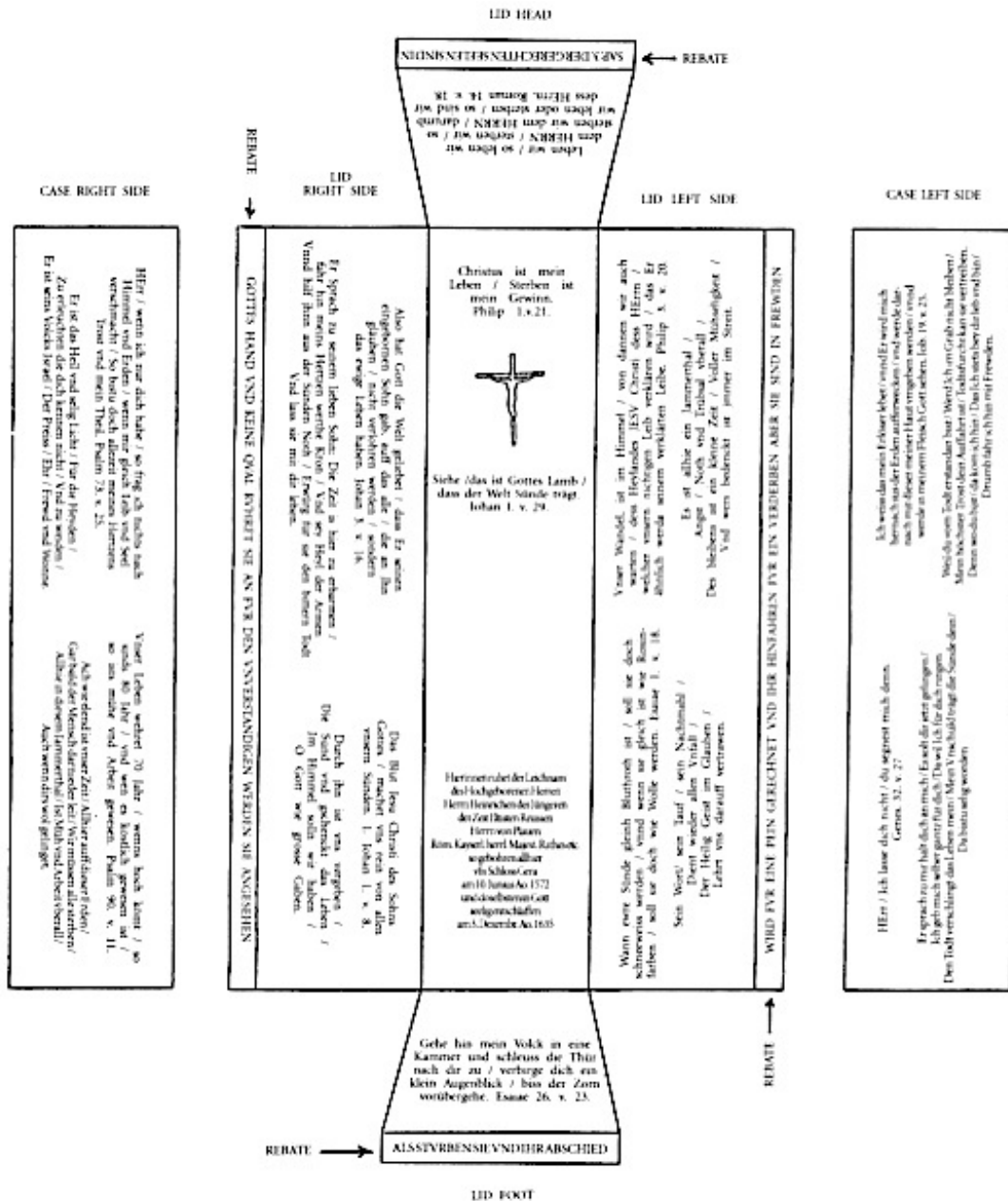


Figure 1.2⁵¹
A schematic diagram of the disposition of scriptural and chorale texts on Posthumus's coffin.

⁵¹ Ibid., 220.

Example 1.2.

Heinrich Schütz, “III. Canticum B. Simeonis” from *Musikalische Exequien*, SWV 279–281, mm. 1–4.⁵² In this example, it can be seen that chorus II is scored for two soprano Seraphim and a baritone, which most likely personifies the deceased prince. Here, Schütz makes use of the rhetorical device *prosopopoeia* by literally casting the role of the prince in a sung role meant to assure the prince’s mourners of his ascension to everlasting life, promised in the Gospels.

Despite the almost never-ending financial, political, and religious turmoil that marked his lifetime, Schütz managed to produce a sizeable body of repertoire and is recognized as the most prominent German composer of vocal music of the seventeenth century. Most of Schütz’s texts are biblical, more from the Old

⁵² Heinrich Schütz, “III. Canticum B. Simeonis” from *Musikalische Exequien*, SWV 279–281, (Edited by Fritz Brodersen. Creative Commons Attributions Non-commercial 3.0.), <http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/b/b0/IMSLP159075-WIMA.a7f9-SWV-281.pdf> (accessed March 5, 2015).

Testament than the New, but also draw upon non-biblical devotional poems. Central to Schütz's overall style is his unfailing interest and concern for the treatment of text within his compositions. This involved his handling of the individual meaning of words and their mimetic depiction through music, but could have also included means of rhythmic, melodic, harmonic, textural, and structural manipulation for the enhancement of text.⁵³ His application of imitative techniques to enhance textures and thus heighten the text without obscuring it is a feature of the German style.⁵⁴

⁵³ Rifkin, "Schütz, Heinrich," 2.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 2.

CHAPTER 2

THE GERMAN LUTHERAN PASSION TRADITION

Development of *Passion Historia*

The earliest roots of the Latin *Passion Historia* are in Roman Catholic practices of the fifth century when, during Holy Week, the four Gospel accounts were chanted in place of the usual Gospel reading.¹ Evidence of passion narratives read in a religious service exists in a report by the Spanish pilgrim Egeria (or Etheria), who visited Jerusalem in the fourth century and left a detailed account of Holy Week services.² In the early Christian Church it was common practice for the events surrounding Passiontide to be marked musically and dramatically as part of the liturgy. The musical events grew in breadth and significance in the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. Presentations of the passion story were one of many biblical stories dramatized as a means of educating the often-illiterate laity. Celebratory dramas of the Nativity and Resurrection also occurred, some of which involved elaborate costumes and staging. In their earliest stages in the Middle Ages these liturgical dramas, as well as all other dramatizations, were performed in plainchant and in traditional Latin. Early in their history gospel assignments for feast days depended on the various liturgical rites: Roman, Gallican, Mozarabic, and

¹ Basil Smallman. *The Background of Passion Music* (New York: Dover, 1957), 22. See this source for a comprehensive history of Passion genre development.

² Mason Martens. "Heinrich Schütz and the German Passion Tradition." *The American Organist* (Oct. 1985), 74.

Ambrosian. In the fifth century, Pope Leo the Great assigned Matthew's account to Palm Sunday and Wednesday in Holy Week, and John's account to Good Friday. By the tenth century, the reading of the account according to Mark became standard in the Roman Church for the Tuesday of Holy Week.³ It should also be noted that the act of reading in the early Christian Church was synonymous with singing because virtually all texts were sung in services of appropriate solemnity. As the practice continued to develop, a shift occurred in liturgical dramas and some regions adopted the vernacular instead of Latin. In their earliest form, around the ninth century, a single cantor presented the role of narrator, Christ, and all other characters. The performer probably distinguished the various roles by changing pitch and vocal inflection as well as varying methods of performance, such as tempo. It was at this point that the tradition of characterizing the part of the Evangelist in a higher range and Jesus as a lower voice began to take root.⁴ Generally between the ninth and eleventh centuries, but in some countries as late as the fifteen century, the character roles within the Passion were divided among three clergy: Evangelist, Jesus, and the other characters. As Smallman describes:

When from the fifteenth century, it became the normal practice for three persons (a priest, a deacon, and a sub-deacon) to present the roles in the Passion, these letter-symbols were retained and customarily interpreted as follows: *c* = *cantor* or *chronista*, *s* = *synogoga* or *succentor*, and *†* = *Christus*.⁵

³ Ibid., 75.

⁴ Smallman, *The Background of Passion Music*, 22. He states that, "Originally the complete presentation of the Passion was the task of a single deacon, who distinguished between the narrative portions, the says of Christ, and the utterances of the *synagoga* (which included all the minor characters and the crowd or *Turba*), simply by altering the pitch and inflection of his voice; the Evangelist's part lay in the tenor range, that of Christ in the bass, and that of the *synogoga* in the alto."

⁵ Ibid., 123. See Appendix I for a detailed discussion of vocal roles.

Mason Marten takes issue with the idea that even in the early Church the role of all three characters was sung by one person. He opines:

Some scholars believe that in earlier centuries the Passions were sung by only one singer, but I believe this concept has been given more credence than it deserves because of too great a reliance on a 15th-century Ordo Romanus (instruction book for the Papal services) which confined the singing to one Cardinal Deacon. This is likely to be another case of extreme conservatism in Rome, because evidence of the Passions being sung by more than one singer seems to exist in northern European countries such as France and England, where liturgical practices were admittedly more flamboyant.⁶

As with other early genres, it is difficult to pinpoint an exact date to specific developments in passion dramas because of the wide range of local practices. Even today there is much debate among scholars regarding many aspects of the genre's early maturation, especially concerning the reading or chanting of Passion narratives before the thirteenth century.⁷

The addition of polyphony in Passion narratives began in the fifteenth century. Though some earlier examples of polyphonic passion compositions exist, English composer Richard Davy (c.1465-1507) has been deemed the earliest known composer to write a passion drama in the style and form common in the early Renaissance.⁸ There was considerable diversity in the genre during the period,

⁶ Martens, "Heinrich Schütz," 75. He cites the Dominican "typical" manuscript called *le gros livre* (The Big Book) of 1254 as the earliest source for text division among singers. He also cites the Sarum Gradual of Parma (c. 1300) as presenting evidence of text division between several singers. "The words of Christ on the cross, for instance, are assigned to a separate singer. The first indication of a choral performance of a "turba" or crowd parts of the text, to a monophonic melody, appears in a Polish manuscript dated 1348."

⁷ Ibid., 75.

⁸ Smallman, *The Background of Passion Music*, 23-24. "The choral versions of the crowd utterances are grafted on to the traditional plainsong Passion tones, which are used for the roles of the

involving all sorts of differences of voicing and texture. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries opening and closing movements consisting of non-scriptural texts were added to most passions. As will be discussed in greater detail below, a few types of passions gained prominence. One, termed the motet passion, presented the entire text polyphonically and could include quotations from one or all four Gospels. In the sixteenth century passions featuring polyphonic sections were composed for use in both Catholic and Lutheran churches. A number of other composers wrote in the genre, including Lassus, who composed four for the Bavarian Court Chapel between 1575 and 1584.⁹ In these settings the *turba* or “crowd” passages are written for full chorus but the other characters are written as duets and trios. Tomás Luis de Victoria (c. 1548-1611) and William Byrd (1540/43-1623) also contributed to the genre.

Early German Historiae and Passions

In the Lutheran church, *historia*, or German *Historiae* (plural), refers to a biblical story that was later applied to a musical genre. The text of a musical *Historie* contained a story either quoted from one Gospel or a combination of the four. According to Howard Smither, a *Historie* was termed a Gospel *harmony* when based on multiple texts, which often occurred in passion *Historiae* with the incorporation

Evangelist and of Christ. This became the established custom which was followed by numerous Passion composers during the sixteenth century.”

⁹ Martens, “Heinrich Schütz,” 76.

of the seven last words of Christ, since no Gospel includes all seven.¹⁰ The whole of the narratives were taken directly from the Gospels with the exception of the opening and closing movements, termed *exordium* and *conclusio*.

In post-Reformation Germany, passion drama readings remained an important facet of liturgical practices—maintaining pre-Reformation recitation characteristics—but were spread out over a long period of time, not just during celebrations of the Eucharist or *Hauptgottesdienst* of Holy Week.¹¹ Texts were presumably taken from Luther’s *Deutsche Bibel*, an amalgamation of multiple German dialects that formed the basis for the modern German language. Three forms of musical *Historiae* developed: responsorial, which most closely aligned with passion settings from Roman Catholic traditions and significantly influenced later genres; through-composed, where the entire narrative is set polyphonically; and, a combination of both responsorial and through-composed. The earliest known Lutheran responsorial *Historie* is attributed to Johann Walther (1496-1570), dating from about 1530.¹² Walther’s setting assigned chant recitation tones *f*, *c*’, and *f*’ to the individual characters and the choral sections in a style similar to *fauxbourdon*, although they are entirely written out with no allowance for polyphonic embellishment. Through-composed *Historiae* contain texts set polyphonically, either in a style similar to *fauxbourdon* or motet-like, featuring imitative textures. The early motet-like compositions, where an accompanied choir sang the entire text

¹⁰ Howard Smither. *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 3.

¹¹ Martens, “Heinrich Schütz,” 76.

¹² Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 4.

with individual characters either not distinguished musically from one another or sung by groupings of voices, were not as popular as responsorial settings.¹³ This was perhaps because of an abandonment of realism with the elimination of solo singers portraying individual characters. Passions of this type were termed *summa Passionis* and likely came into being as a result of compositional interest or for devotional reasons.¹⁴ The motet style of composition was retained, with variants, during the sixteenth century with texts in German and Latin. The through-composed passion lost its influence in the seventeenth century because of its lack of realism. Jacob Obrecht (1457-1505) has long been credited with the earliest passion of this type; however, according to Martens, in the two oldest manuscript sources (1507 and 1514) it is ascribed to two other, much more obscure, composers.¹⁵

Antonio Scandello (1517-1580), a musician at the court at Dresden and one of Schütz's predecessors, is credited with composing the earliest known examples of Lutheran *Historiae* that mix aspects of both the responsorial and through-composed.¹⁶ These types set the Evangelist as a soloist to a recitation tone with other individuals presented polyphonically.

Beginning in the seventeenth-century, particularly in the areas of Saxony and Thuringia, the term *actus musicus*, or "dramatic musical action" came to be used to

¹³ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴ Martens, "Heinrich Schütz," 75.

¹⁵ Ibid., 75. It is now widely believed the passion setting belongs to Antoine de Longueval (1498-1525), but was long thought to be by Pierre de La Rue (c. 1452-1518).

¹⁶ Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 8.

describe works that shared characteristics of *Historiae*.¹⁷ These pieces contain both narrative and dialogue taken from biblical stories, and served the same liturgical function within the Lutheran church service. The most significant difference between the *actus musicus* and *historia* is the greater use of non-biblical text interpolations. Both genres could include freely-composed poetry or stanzas of new chorale texts; however, the *actus musicus* seems to place considerable emphasis on dramatic elements such as musical characterization, more so than the *historia*.¹⁸ The Resurrection, alongside the Passion, became the most commonly used scene in *Historiae* and *actus musicus*. Extant examples include Thomas Selle's *Die Auferstehung nach den vier Evangelisten* (c. 1660), Friedrich Funcke's *Trostvolle Geschichte der sig- und freudenreichen Auferstehung Jesu Christi* (1665), Andreas Schulze's *Historia resurrectionis domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum quatuor Evangelistas* (1686), and Abraham Petzold's *Actus paschalis* (c. 1690-1702).¹⁹ In the mid-seventeenth century continuo instruments (organ and lute), treble instruments, instrumental sinfonias, parallel Gospel narratives, reflective verses, and stanzas of chorales were added as possible variations to the genre, which all aided in the development of what is now termed the Oratorio Passion.²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid., 28.

¹⁸ Ibid., 28.

¹⁹ Ibid., 28-29.

²⁰ Martens, "Heinrich Schütz," 76.

Schütz's Historiae

In Italy, toward the end of the sixteenth century, the Florentine Camerata gatherings had reached their height, and with them came the births of monody and opera, which in turn influenced sacred composition. In the first half of the seventeenth century the dialogue and oratorio began to form and develop at essentially the same time as opera.²¹ The *Historiae* of Heinrich Schütz demonstrate his interest in elements from Italian dramatic styles.²² He composed six narrative works: *Historia der Auferstehungshistorie Jesu Christi* (1623), *Die sieben Worte Jesu Christi am Kreuz* (c. 1645), *Weihnachtshistorie* (1660), *Johannes-Passion* (1665), *Matthäus-Passion* (1666), and *Lukas-Passion* (1666). Schütz himself termed five of his six narrative works as *Historiae*, the three Passions and both the Easter and Christmas stories, which have been loosely labeled as oratorios in today's musicological literature.²³

As noted above, Schütz based his earliest work in this genre, *Die Auferstehung unsers Herren Jesu Christi* (History of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ) on earlier compositions by Antonio Scandello (1517-1580). Howard Smither mentions that, according to Schütz's title page for the work, it was "to be used for spiritual, Christian edification in princely chapels and chambers at Eastertime."²⁴ The work includes an instrumental *continuo* as well as bold harmonic progressions,

²¹ Smallman, *The Background of Passion Music*, 29.

²² Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 9.

²³ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

which can be seen in the first four measures of the *exordium*, shown in example 2.1.

This demonstrates Schütz's strong commitment to affective intensification of text and represents the tension between modality and harmonic language occurring during the early Baroque. *Auferstehung* sets the Evangelist to a recitation tone and the roles of individual characters polyphonically, which makes it of the mixed type (responsorial and through-composed).

The image shows a musical score for a six-part vocal setting. The parts are labeled on the left: Cantus, Sextus, Altus, Tenor, Quintus, and Bassus. Below these is a Bassus generalis part. The lyrics are written below the vocal staves: 'Die Auferstehung unsers Herren Jesu Christi.' The music is in D minor, 4/4 time. The first four measures show the beginning of the movement, with the Cantus part starting on a recitation tone. The Bassus generalis part is a basso continuo line.

Example 2.1.

Schütz, *Historia der Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, SWV 50, movement 1, mm. 1-10.²⁵ The movement begins in D minor followed by a first-inversion dominant chord in m. 3, which then moves to a major II (E major) chord in m. 4 before resolving to the dominant (A major) in m. 5. The harmony here could be characterized as atypical but striking, and certainly appropriate for the opening movement of a work centered on Christ's resurrection.

Die sieben Worte Jesu Christi am Kreuz (The Seven Last Words of Christ) is Schütz's only narrative work that he did not label a *historie*, although by modern

²⁵ Heinrich Schütz, *Historia der Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, SWV 50, (Edited by Philipp Spitta. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1885), [http://imslp.org/wiki/Historia_der_Auferstehung_Jesu_Christi_SWV_50_\(Schütz,_Heinrich\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Historia_der_Auferstehung_Jesu_Christi_SWV_50_(Schütz,_Heinrich)) (accessed March 5, 2015).

definition it is categorized as such. It is comprised of all biblical texts. The opening and closing chorus, called the *introitus* and *conclusio*, respectively, act as a sort of unifying frame and consist of the first and last verses of the Passion chorale “Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund.”²⁶ The work is scored for SATTB chorus; a *symphonia* for SATTB instruments; solo SAT for the Evangelist; and solo TTB for Jesus, the robber on the left, and on the right, respectively. In example 2.2, a “halo” gesture, scored for two treble instruments and continuo, accompanies Jesus. This is evident throughout the work during Jesus’s solos.



Example 2.2.
Heinrich Schütz, *Die sieben Wortte unsers lieben Erlösers und Seeligmachers Jesu Christi*, SWV 478, mm. 250-254.²⁷ Instrumental parts I and II exhibit a sustained halo over Jesus’s declaration “I thirst”.

During solo passages in *Sieben Worte*, Schütz abandons the strict chant-like recitation style typically found in *historiae*, for a modern dramatic style closer to

²⁶ Ibid., 18.

²⁷ Schütz, *Die sieben Wortte unsers lieben Erlösers und Seeligmachers Jesu Christi*, SWV 478, (Edited by Philipp Spitta. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1885), [http://imslp.org/wiki/Da_Jesus_an_dem_Kreuze_stund,_SWV_478_\(Schütz,_Heinrich\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Da_Jesus_an_dem_Kreuze_stund,_SWV_478_(Schütz,_Heinrich)) (accessed February 18, 2014).

that of Italian recitative.²⁸ The examples below, including a brief excerpt of an aria by Monteverdi, demonstrate this style of writing, featuring dramatic, arching melodic phrases and the absence of a reciting tone or chant-formula (see examples 2.3a and b).



Example 2.3a.

Heinrich Schütz, *Die sieben Wortte*, mm. 240-249. This example shows Schütz's setting of the Evangelist in a lyrical recitative fashion rather than in a chant-like manner.

²⁸ Ibid., 18.



Example 2.3b.

Claudio Monteverdi, *L'Orfeo*, Act 2, mm. 1-4.²⁹ This example demonstrates an archetype of Italian recitative style, exhibiting large melodic leaps and arches meant to accentuate the drama.

Unlike most of Schütz's major compositions, *Weihnachtshistorie* consists of separate units linked together. The Evangelist's part, including the basso continuo, was published in three separate parts (tenor, organ, violone) by Schütz in 1664 and was meant for one of two performing groups. The second group consisted of parts for the singers and remaining instrumentalists. The *Weihnachtshistorie* is made up of ten concerted pieces, eight of which Schütz termed *Intermedium*, including the opening movement and final *Beschluß*. Schütz never published the parts for the second group, although manuscripts of most of the music have been found in

²⁹ Claudio Monteverdi, *L'Orfeo*, (Edited by Gian Francesco Malipiero. Vienna: Universal Edition, 1930), http://japanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/2/21/IMSLP310353-PMLP21363-monteverdi_orfeo2.pdf (accessed March 26, 2015).

Uppsala, Sweden, and Berlin; when assembled, they make an almost complete modern edition.³⁰

As evident in example 2.4, Schütz utilized a conventional recitative style for the Evangelist's solos, including *basso continuo*, although indications of chant-like formulae are sometimes present.

Example 2.4 shows a musical score for the Evangelist's solo. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The vocal line is written on a single staff with a treble clef. The lyrics are: "Es be-gab sich a-ber zu der-sel-bi-gen Zeit, dass ein Ge-bot von dem Kai-ser Au-gu-sto aus-ging, dass al-le Welt ge-schätzt wür-de, und die-se Schatzung war die er-ste und ge-". The vocal line is in a recitative style, with a constant pitch on the note 'a' (G4). The basso continuo line is written on a single staff with a bass clef. It features a constant pitch on the note 'a' (G3) and includes a figured bass notation '6' under the first measure.

Example 2.4.

Schütz, *Weihnachtshistorie*, SWV 435, Introduction, mm. 1-7.³¹ This excerpt demonstrates a quasi chant-like recitation maintain a reciting tone on *a* while also exhibiting a traditional recitative quality with basso continuo.

According to Smither, the variety and appropriateness of the vocal and instrumental combinations in the *intermedia* make an attractive feature of the work (see examples 2.5a and b).³²

³⁰ Ibid., 21.

³¹ Heinrich Schütz, *Weihnachtshistorie*, SWV 435. (Edited by Arnold Shering. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1909), http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/9/94/IMSLP178216PMLP100130-Schutz_Historia_von_der_Geburt_Jesu_Christi_SWV435.pdf (accessed March 5, 2015).

³² Ibid., 26-27.

Example 2.5a shows a musical score for a section of Schütz's *Weihnachtshistorie, SWV 435, Intermedium V*, measures 1-6. The score is for six parts: Trombone I, Trombone II, Bassus I, Bassus II, Bassus III, and Bassus IV, and Organo. The key signature is one flat (F major or D minor), and the time signature is common time (C). The Trombone parts play a melodic line, while the Bassus parts provide a harmonic accompaniment. The Organo part features a prominent bass line. The text 'Zu Beth le' is written below the Bassus parts.

Example 2.5a.

Schütz. *Weihnachtshistorie, SWV 435, Intermedium V*, mm. 1-6. Schütz frequently pairs wind instruments with male solos and choruses. Here he sets the High Priests and Scribes as four bass soloists accompanied by continuo and two trombones, likely to highlight the stateliness and seriousness of the figures.

Example 2.5b shows a musical score for a section of Schütz's *Weihnachtshistorie, SWV 435, Intermedium I*, measures 1-7. The score is for four parts: Violetta I, Violetta II, Cantus, and Organo. The key signature is one flat (F major or D minor), and the time signature is common time (C). The Violetta parts play a melodic line, while the Cantus part provides a harmonic accompaniment. The Organo part features a prominent bass line. The text 'Fürchtet euch nicht, fürchtet euch nicht.' is written below the Cantus part.

Example 2.5b.

Schütz. *Weihnachtshistorie, SWV 435, Intermedium I*, mm. 1-7. Schütz characterizes *intermedia* with angels by employing high strings and continuo.

The narrative genre experienced a long history of development, influenced by the shifts in religious beliefs and practices of various periods and regions. The six narrative works by Schütz represent a body of music steeped in the *stile antico*, yet exhibiting an amalgamation of Italianate styles and Lutheran influences.

CHAPTER 3

MUSICA POETICA IN CONTEXT

Schütz's Passions

Toward the end of his life Schütz composed three settings of the passion story for the Court Chapel in Dresden according to the accounts of Matthew, Luke, and John. *Matthäus-Passion* and *Lukas-Passion* were written in 1666 with *Johannes-Passion* composed a year prior. The Passions, as well as many of his late compositions, were not printed during his lifetime, and, Martens suggests, "As a result, these works, unusual as they are, have had to strive hard for recognition in the midst of the confusion which has surrounded for them for most of their existence."¹ The three Passions, including a setting of the narrative from St. Mark not attributed to Schütz, are found in a tall folio manuscript, which was copied by Johann Zacharias Grundig (1669-1720) sometime after 1692. Marten claims, "The mystery of the St. Mark Passion was also cleared up... That work is by Marco Gioseppe Peranda (c. 1625-1675)... The work was first performed in 1668, during Schütz's lifetime."² In 1885, Philipp Spitta (1841-1894), the German music historian most famous for his monumental biography of J.S. Bach, published all of the Passions, in his first volume of Schütz's complete works. As was noted in Chapter 2,

¹ Mason Martens. "Heinrich Schütz and the German Passion Tradition." *The American Organist* (Oct. 1985), 76.

² Ibid., 76.

the Passions as well as much of Schütz's repertoire, enjoyed a significant revival in 1930s, when the Nazis were looking to promote German history and culture.

Schütz's Passions are unusual: not particularly extraordinary in their structure, but with several interesting features. First, the works are for unaccompanied solo voices and chorus at a time when basso continuo was ubiquitous. The choral movements, written in four parts, present the *turba*, or "crowd," passages often in polyphonic textures. The texts, save the opening and closing movements, are derived directly from the Gospels, without non-biblical interpolations. Second, and probably most remarkably, the soloist movements are composed entirely of new, chant-like recitatives. As Martens states:

Schütz's recitative in these works must be approached, both for analysis and description, and also in performance, as a type of plainsong, designed for liturgical use rather than as late 17th-century recitative with its "fundamental bass" missing.³

Though this element has sometimes been viewed as a means of harkening back to the unaccompanied Passion recitations of previous centuries, this is probably just coincidental. The Elector of Saxony, Johann Georg II, decreed that no musical instruments were to be used in Dresden during Holy Week. To meet this condition, Schütz abandoned his customary *concerted* style of composition. Instead, he relied heavily on the *stile antico*, involving his newly-composed chant-like solos while still embracing the dramatic aspects of the narrative, which readily incorporate his use of musical-rhetorical figures.

³ Ibid., 77.

Voices in *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479

Schütz's *Historia des Leidens und Sterbens unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi nach dem Evangelisten St. Matthaeus*, SWV 479, hereafter referred to as the *Matthäus-Passion*, was first performed on *Judica*, or Palm Sunday, 1 April 1666. In this setting, the nine solo characters are portrayed as follows: the Evangelist (tenor), Jesus (bass), Judas (alto), Caiaphas (bass), Peter (tenor), Pilate (tenor), Pilate's Wife (alto), and the two maids (sopranos). The choral movements are scored for SATB, and briefly ATTB. The *Matthäus-Passion* presents fairly conservative and sometimes restrained treatment of solo and choral passages; however, the work as a whole boasts many innovative elements. The Passion according to St. Matthew is the longest and most detailed of the Gospel accounts and therefore offers the most opportunities for dramatic creativity. Schütz took advantage of this, thus making his *Matthäus-Passion* the most elaborate and complex of the three settings.⁴ According to Martens:

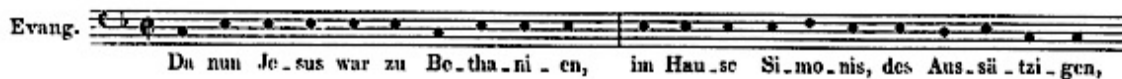
The St. Matthew Passion contains melodic scraps of a type not found in the other works. Fragments of Baroque recitative, arranged to be sung without accompaniment, are heard. Raised leading tones (an occasional F-sharp) are used for dramatic effect. Apparent quotations from popular songs are heard, especially to delineate the character of the false apostle Judas when he is at the point of betraying Jesus.⁵

The *Matthäus-Passion* is cast in transposed Dorian mode with a final on G and one flat in the key signature—though Schütz often includes an E-flat accidental, typically as a means of heightening drama. As will be shown in an example below,

⁴ Ibid., 77.

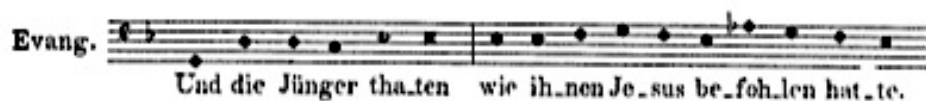
⁵ Ibid., 77. While Martens makes mention of the use of popular songs as the basis for Judas's melodic content, no further evidence is provided.

the harmonic language serves to enhance dramatic aspects of certain passages. It is evident throughout that Schütz intends the Evangelist to embody the true, speech-like quality of a narrator and therefore sets his role in a manner similar to traditional plainsong, utilizing quasi-psalm tone formulae. This style of writing affords the performer to allow the rhythm and tempo to flow naturally from the singers' instinct for word-accentuation and interpretation.⁶ Both of these elements can be seen in examples 3.1a and b.



Example 3.1a.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 6, mm. 1-2.⁷ Schütz is drawing on chant-like formulae by presenting a reciting tone on B-flat and a final of G.



Example 3.1b.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 16, mm. 1-2. Though this example is clearly in a chant style; it would be appropriate for the singer to adhere to natural speech rhythms and accentuate the second syllable of the word *befohlen* (ordered), especially since it is highest note of the word.

It would be plausible to suggest that Schütz's use of an older, stricter style of writing limited his ability to add significant drama to the musical depictions of the

⁶ Basil Smallman. *Schütz*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 159.

⁷ Heinrich Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, (Edited by Philipp Spitta. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1885), [http://imslp.org/wiki/Matthäus-Passion,_SWV_479_\(Schütz,_Heinrich\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Matthäus-Passion,_SWV_479_(Schütz,_Heinrich)) (accessed February 18, 2014).

narrative, but this is not the case. Throughout the work, Schütz employs a number of examples of text painting, related to the rhetorical concept *hypotyposis*, in both solo and choral movements. An obvious instance occurs in the opening movement (see example 3.2).

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics are: "Das Lei - den un - sers Her - ren Je - su Chri - sti, wie es be - schrei - bet der hei - li - ge E - vange - li - ste Mat - thae - us." The score is in 16th-century notation with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature.

Example 3.2.

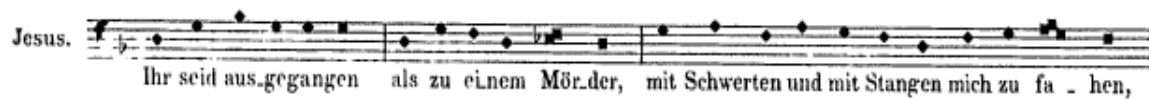
Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 1, mm. 1-12. Beginning with the soprano voice in m. 10, and then followed by all subsequent voices, a faster surface rhythm occurs on the text *wie es beschreibet* (as it is written), perhaps depicting the physical act of writing by the Evangelist.

Basil Smallman pointed out a few more instances of text painting, stating:

in the depiction of Peter's remorse over his denial of Jesus ... the narrator exploits both extremes of his compass, reaching up to *f* for the words 'Ehre der Hahn krähen wird' (before the cock crow) and down to *d* (a tenth lower) for his account, with paired notes in drooping descent, of Peter's 'bitter weeping'.⁸

⁸ Ibid., 159.

It seems significant that Jesus's solos tend to feature arching melodic lines characterized by the use of short melismas that often rise and fall, unlike the more static treatment of the Evangelist. This could suggest a sense of balance or grace that Schütz intends for Jesus to convey, even as he faces trial and execution (see example 3.3).



Example 3.3.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 59, mm. 1-3. During the scene of Jesus's arrest, Schütz sets his words to arch shapes that result in a dignified presentation of this segment of the drama.

Minor roles in the *Matthäus-Passion* receive equal dramatic treatment in their musical representation. As Smallman points out:

the minor figures in the drama, already vividly delineated in the gospels, added weight [by] provid[ing] a host of adroit musical details. Striking portrayals in the Matthew Passion include the greed and duplicity of Judas (an alto), captured by a repeated phrase, ascending in sequence, for his 'Was wollt ihr mir geben?' (What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you?)⁹

Another striking example is Schütz's treatment of the two false witnesses (tenors) account. Here he sets the two vocal lines as a strict canon at the second, creating a sharply dissonant, and arguably conflicting, musical passage (see example 3.4).

⁹ Ibid., 161.

Zweene falsche Zeugen.

Er hat ge-sa-get: Ich kann den Tempel Got-tes ab-bre-chen und in dreien Ta-gen, in dreien Ta-gen densel-ben bau-en, densel-ben bau-en.

Example 3.4.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 61, mm. 1-10. By setting the two tenor false witnesses in imitation a second apart, Schütz created a distinct passage that symbolizes the opposing evidence against Jesus. The Baroque period saw a tradition of setting the two false witnesses contrapuntally.

Aside from apparent text painting, Schütz made use of the tension between modality and tonality in both solo and choral passages to emphasize drama. Oftentimes, the choral movements begin and end in different tonal areas and include multiple internal cadences that stray from the modal center (see in examples 3.5a and b).

Die Juden.

Halt, halt, lasst se - hen, lasst se - hen, ob E - li - as kom - me und ihm hel - fe, ob E - li - as kom - me und ihm hel - fe.

Example 3.5a.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 129, mm. 1-13. Applying modern functional tonal analysis to this passage, this movement begins in F major and then quickly moves through cadences on the dominant of D minor (m. 3), C major (m. 6), D minor (m. 10), B-flat (m. 12) and finally, G major (m. 14), bringing the passage back to the expected transposed G Dorian.¹⁰

Evang.

Und bald lief ei - ner un - ter ih - nen und nahm ei - nen Schwamm und fül - let ihn mit Es - sig und ste - cket ihn auf ein Rohr und trän - ket ihn. Die an - dern a - ber spra - chen:

Example 3.5b.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 128, mm. 1-6. Here, Schütz migrates through a number of modal centers in a short solo passage. Beginning in G Dorian, he quickly moves through F Ionian (m. 3) and B-flat Ionian (m. 4) and ultimately ends on F.

Finally, it is pertinent to mention the opening and closing movements named, the *Exordium* (introduction) and *Beschluß* (resolution), respectively. Here the choir assumes the role of the believers or congregation, rather than the *turba*. These

¹⁰ Ibid., 164.

movements are similar in overall structure to the *turba* choruses in that they incorporate motet-like characteristics. The *Beschluß* is the most distinct movement of the *Matthäus-Passion* and functions as the culmination of the work's drama and use of rhetoric. The text and music is full of various reflections of praise, glory, pain, death, and salvation.

CHAPTER 4

RHETORICAL FIGURES AND STRUCTURES

As introduced in Chapter 1, the process of structuring an oration, as laid out by seventeenth-century authors on rhetoric, involved five steps: (1) *inventio*, (2) *dispositio*, (3) *elocutio*, (4) *memoria*, and (5) *actio* or *pronunciatio*. The first step, *inventio*, is defined as the process of deciding the subject and then assembling the relevant information, while *dispositio*, the second step, focuses on its logical arrangement. *Elocutio* involves the transformation of the ideas into words and phrases and the addition of devices that would potentially strengthen the argument. The final two steps, *memoria* and *actio* or *pronunciatio*, deal with memorization and delivery.¹ The first three steps each consist of subcategories, the use of which depend on a topic's ideas and concepts, that were commonly assimilated by North German Baroque composers into their works. *Inventio* includes many subject areas, termed *loci topici*, that concern names, definitions, effects, comparisons, and contrasts.² *Dispositio*, the preparation of the gathered material, is divided into six sections as follows: introduction (*exordium*), factual account (*narratio*), argument (*propositio*), evidence (*confirmatio*), rebuttals (*confutatio*), and final comments (*peroratio*). The third step, *elocutio*, deals with four *virtutes elocutionis* or stylistic expectations, which include correct syntax (*puritas, latinitas*), clarity (*perspicuitas*),

¹ Dietrich Bartel. *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 66.

² Ibid., 67.

figurative language (*ornatus*), and appropriateness to material (*aptum, decorum*).³

Within the third segment of *elocutio* rhetorical figures are found. As Bartel states:

It is in this third “virtue,” *ornatus*, that the rhetorical figures and tropes find their home. Tropes are understood as metaphorical expressions, while figures are described as deviations from the normal choice, order, or structure of words and sentences. It is above all these figures of speech, which serve to embellish, amplify, and vividly portray the thoughts, that [*sic*] were considered the most useful tools in presenting and arousing the affections.⁴

Through the application of these steps to Schütz’s *Matthäus-Passion* it becomes evident how he integrated these ideas into the work’s construction.

Inventio

The rhetorical process of *inventio* first and foremost involved determining a topic or subject. Athanasius Kircher introduced it first as a musical-rhetorical concept confined to textual association, stating a composer first chooses a theme or subject whose material is to represent or evoke an affection.⁵ Furthermore, *inventio* entailed deciding on what modes to use, the overall harmonic and melodic structures, as well as tempos, meters, and dynamics. The chosen text was paramount. As Board states, “A long cultural and theological tradition governed what kinds of texts were appropriate for specific events. For any sacred work, the

³ Ibid., 67.

⁴ Ibid., 67.

⁵ Ibid., 77.

prevailing religious sentiments ruled the choice of text.”⁶ In the case of this work, the *inventio* was a given: the Passion narrative in the Gospel of St. Matthew. Schütz’s settings of the three Gospel accounts differ in musical treatment and use of the affections because the texts differ.

Dispositio

According to Burmeister, the second level of rhetorical structure, *dispositio*, referred to the entire composition, and was a determining factor in fugal composition.⁷ In the eighteenth century, Johann Mattheson developed the process of *dispositio* further, systematically applying all levels of the rhetorical steps to other musical compositions. These levels included the following: *exordium*, *narratio*, *propositio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, and *peroratio*. The function of the *exordium* was to introduce material, preparing the listener for what was to follow and might include such forms as a prelude, fugue, an opening sinfonia, or ritornello. The *narratio* functions to advance the meaning or nature of the composition and was accomplished through the entrance of a voice in an aria or the solo instrument(s) in a concerto.⁸ The main purpose of *propositio* was to introduce the actual content and meaning of the composition and sometimes combined functions with the *narratio*. The next two sections, *confirmatio* and *conflutatio*, functioned similarly in terms of their end result despite involving different processes. The *confirmatio* utilized artful

⁶ Ryan Board. “Dietrich Buxtehude’s “Membra Jesu nostri”: A study in Baroque affections and rhetoric” (DMA diss., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2006), 34.

⁷ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 80.

⁸ Ibid., 81.

repetitions to reinforce the *propositio*. The *confutatio* presented suspensions, chromaticism, or other contrasting passages, strengthening the character of the original theme.⁹ Finally, the *peroratio*, functioned as the conclusion. It often included a restatement of the *exordium* and was meant to highlight important texts or lessons in the work.

Elocutio

It was with the third level, *elocutio*, that the relationship between music and text met through the concept of musical-rhetorical figures, which bridged the Renaissance aesthetic based on textual expression with a desire to arouse the affections of the listener in the Baroque era. As Board states, "Just as the orator was to embellish and heighten his or her speech through rhetorical figures, so too was the composer able to stir the affections through equivalent musical figures."¹⁰ While rhetorical *elocutio* dealt with figures of speech, practitioners of *musica poetica* adopted the concept of musical figures and made this the most pervasive concept within the tradition. The study of these figures became known as *Figurenlehre* (in German) and has since become an important aspect in the study of Baroque music. Bartel states that "the Aristotelian notion that phenomena must be terminologically identified and defined in order to be understood and taught encouraged the concept of the musical figures."¹¹ In an attempt to explain, teach, and use these musical

⁹ Ibid., 81.

¹⁰ Board, "Dietrich Buxtehude's "Membra Jesu nostri," 43.

¹¹ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 83.

phenomena, students, composers, and theorists looked to the devices used by past masters of vocal polyphony.

In the early Baroque, the concept of musical-rhetorical figures developed from *ornatus*, an understanding of figures, which was seen as an unusual compositional practice employed primarily for the sake of adding variety and color. As the seventeenth century progressed the practice shifted to the *movere*, where the musical-rhetorical figures became a means of arousing the affections. A use of rhetorical figures can be seen in the German Baroque where terminology used to identify the musical devices appeared.¹² Composers and theorists created new terms to identify musical figures not already in existence from their speech-related counterparts and assigned them names in either German or Latin.

The section that follows serves to illustrate specific rhetorical figures through their basic definitions along with accompanying musical examples from *Matthäus-Passion*. All of the figures below are based on definitions provided in Bartel's *Musica Poetica*.¹³ This is by no means a complete list of every conceivable figure used nor is it a definitive account of the manner in which Schütz used specific figures in the work; however, they serve to demonstrate the scope of Schütz's commitment to affective expression through rhetorical ideas.

¹² Ibid., 83.

¹³ Ibid., 444-448. Bartel's *Musica Poetica* includes an appendix that provides clear and concise definitions and examples of musical-rhetorical figures. He offers the reader a compiled list of definitions used by North-German Baroque theorists, and occasionally, makes minor modifications or expansions.

Rhetorical Figures

Anabasis, Ascensus: an ascending musical passage, which expresses rising or exalted images or affections. Example 4.1a shows Jesus's call upon God through upward melodic figures that heighten the dramatic tension. Measures 2 and 3 of example 4.1b exhibit a rising line in both the tenor and bass voices, which comments upon Christ's importance.



Example 4.1a.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 125, mm. 1-3.

Eh - re sei dir Chri - ste, der du
Eh - re sei dir Chri - ste,
Eh - re sei dir Chri - ste,
Eh - re sei dir Chri - ste,

Example 4.1b.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 137, mm. 1-3.

Anadiplosis, Reduplicatio: (1) a repetition of a *mimesis*; (2) a repetition of the ending of one phrase at the beginning of the following one. Here *Ja nicht* (But, no) is repeated immediately following the initial entrance (see example 4.2).

Hohepriester und Schriftgelehrten.

Ja nicht, nicht auf das Fest, nicht auf das

Ja nicht, nicht auf das Fest, nicht auf das

Ja nicht, nicht auf das Fest, nicht auf das

Ja nicht, nicht auf das Fest, nicht auf das

Example 4.2.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 5, mm. 1-4.

Anaphora, Repetitio: 1) a repeating bass line; ground bass; 2) a repetition of the opening phrase or motive in a number of successive passages; 3) a general repetition. The *Matthäus-Passion* does not include any instances of ground bass; however, almost every choral passage consists of general repetitions, whether melodic or rhythmic (see example 4.3).

Hohepriester, Schriftgelehrte und Älteste.

Andern hat er ge-hol-fen

Andern hat er ge-hol-fen

Andern hat er ge-hol-fen, ge-hol-fen und kann ihm

Andern hat er ge-hol-fen, ge-hol-fen und kann ihm

Example 4.3

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 123, mm. 1-3.

Aposiopesis, Reticentia: a rest in one or all voices of a composition; a general pause. Through the addition of rests between *Halt, laßt sehen* (Wait, let's see), the anticipation in the drama is heightened. This example could potentially be seen as an *anaphora*, with the lower voices filling the rests between the upper voices (see example 4.4).

Die Juden.

The musical score is for a piece titled "Die Juden." It features four vocal parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The lyrics are "Halt, halt, lasst se - hen, halt, halt, lasst se - hen, lasst". The Soprano part has a long rest in the first measure, followed by the lyrics. The Alto, Tenor, and Bass parts enter with the lyrics in the first measure. The Soprano part has a long rest in the second measure, followed by the lyrics. The Alto, Tenor, and Bass parts continue with the lyrics. The Soprano part has a long rest in the third measure, followed by the lyrics. The Alto, Tenor, and Bass parts continue with the lyrics. The Soprano part has a long rest in the fourth measure, followed by the lyrics. The Alto, Tenor, and Bass parts continue with the lyrics. The Soprano part has a long rest in the fifth measure, followed by the lyrics. The Alto, Tenor, and Bass parts continue with the lyrics.

Example 4.4.

Heinrich Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 129, mm. 1-5.

Dass sie dies Wasser hat auf meinen Leib ge-gos-sen, hat sie ge-than, dass man mich be-gra-ben wird.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 9, m. 5-7.

Judas.

Ich ha-be ü-bel ge-than, dass ich unschuldig Blut ver-rathen ha-be.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 9, m. 5-7.

Climax, Gradatio: 1) a sequence of notes in one voice repeated at either a higher or lower pitch; 2) two voices moving in ascending or descending parallel motion; 3) a gradual increase or rise in sound and pitch, creating a growth in intensity. The *Matthäus-Passion* includes numerous instances of this rhetorical device. In example 4.6a ascending parallel motion appears first in the tenor and bass voices starting on the last eighth-note of m. 3 followed by the sopranos and altos in m. 4. During what is arguably considered the climax of the piece, at least in dramatic terms, Jesus cries out to God with his last words, *Eli, Eli, Eli, lama asabtani?* (My God, my God, my God, why have you forsaken me?). Schütz sets *Eli* to a similar motive that is repeated at a higher pitch level three times (see example 4.6b).

Juden und Kriegsknechte.

Der du den Tem - pel Got - tes zer - brichst
 Der du den Tem - pel Got - tes zer - brichst
 Der du den Tem - pel Got - tes zer - brichst und bau - est ihn in
 Der du den Tem - pel Got - tes zer - brichst und
 und bauest ihn in drei - en Ta - gen, hilf dir sel - ber, bist du Got - tes
 und bauest ihn in drei - en Ta - gen, hilf dir sel - ber, bist du Got - tes
 dreien Ta - gen, in drei - en Ta - gen, hilf dir sel - ber, bist du Got - tes
 bauest ihn in drei - en Ta - gen, hilf dir sel - ber, bist du Got - tes

Example 4.6a.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 120, m. 1-8.

Jesus.

E - li, E - li, E - li, la - ma a - sab - tha - ni.

Example 4.6b.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 125, m. 1-7.

[illegible]

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 119, mm. 1-4.

Exclamatio, Ecphonesis: a musical exclamation, frequently associated with an exclamation in the text. The word *wahrlich* (truly), in the fourth measure, is treated with a sudden ascending leap of a sixth from the previous phrase, perhaps meant to highlight the word's significance (see example 4.8a). A similar gesture appears again at the chorus's opening statement of movement 83. The same word is presented with sustained notes before an immediate change to rapid imitation in all voices, thus heightening the word "truly" (see example 4.8b).



Example 4.8a.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 9, mm. 5-10.

Die Knechte.

Example 4.8b.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 83, mm. 1-3.

Fuga: a compositional device in which a principal voice is imitated by subsequent voices. This can be seen beginning with the soprano voice in m. 10 on the text *wie es beschreibet* (as it is written) (see example 4.9).

Cantus. Das Leiden unsers Herren Jesu Christi, wie es be-

Altus. Das Leiden unsers Herren Jesu Christi,

Tenor. Das Leiden unsers Herren Jesu Christi,

Bassus. Das Leiden unsers Herren Jesu Christi,

schreibet der heilige E-vange-li-ste Mat-thae-us.

sti, wie es be-schreibet der hei-li-ge E-vange-li-ste Mat-thae-us.

wie es be-schreibet der hei-li-ge E-vange-li-ste Mat-thae-us.

wie es be-schreibet der hei-li-ge E-vange-li-ste Mat-thae-us.

Example 4.9.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 1, mm. 1-16.

Hypotyposis, Prosopopoeia: a vivid musical representation of images found in the accompanying text. During the Last Supper scene, while Jesus is talking to his disciples, we see a possible instance of foreshadowing. In m. 5 of Jesus's solo, Schütz set the word *gekreuziget* (crucified) to an ascending four-note figure, which perhaps suggests the promised resurrection or Jesus raised onto the cross (see examples 4.10a). In m. 5 of example 4.10b, the word *zerreiß* (torn) is treated with a sudden ascending three-note figure perhaps representing the veil being torn in the temple.



Example 4.10a.

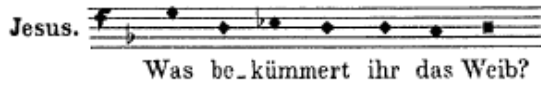
Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 3, m. 5.



Example 4.10b.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 130, m. 1-5.

Interrogatio: a musical question rendered variously through pauses, a rise at the end of the phrase or melody, or through imperfect Phrygian cadences. The question, *Was bekümmert ihr das Weib?* (Why should trouble come to her?) is treated with an ascending interval of a second (see example 4.11a). As the disciples each ask Jesus if they will be the one to betray him, *Bin ich's?* (is it I?), their utterances are each treated with upward steps or leaps. They are also set apart by rests (see example 4.11b).



Example 4.11a.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 9, m. 1.

Die Jünger Jesu.



Herr, bin ich's? Herr, bin ich's, bin ich's, bin ich's, bin ich's?

Herr, bin ich's? bin ich's bin ich's, bin ich's, bin ich's, bin ich's?

Herr, bin ich's? bin ich's, bin ich's, bin ich's, bin ich's, bin ich's?

Herr, bin ich's? bin ich's, bin ich's, bin ich's, bin ich's?

Example 4.11b.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 19, m. 1-7.

Mimesis, Ethophonia, Imitatio: an approximate rather than strict imitation of a subject at different pitches (see example 4.12). Each voice begins with a motive that could continue in exact imitation; however, because the movement is only three measures in length, the cadence resolves quickly, forcing the motive in each voice to promptly wrap up.

Die Kriegsknechte.

Der ru - fet den E - li - as.

Der ru - fet den E - li - as.

Der ru - fet den E - li - as.

Der ru - fet den E - li - as.

Example 4.12.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 127, mm. 1-4.

Noema: a homophonic passage within a contrapuntal texture, used for emphasis (see example 4.13). Here there is perceived stress on the words *Kreuzes* (cross), *bittern* (bitter), and *Tod* (death) when presented in a homophonic texture.

Kreuzes für uns den bit - tern Tod, an

Kreuzes für uns den bit - tern Tod, an

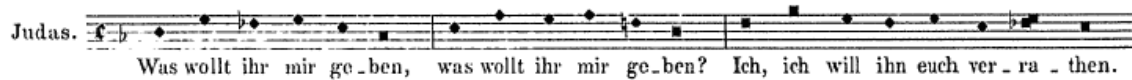
Kreuzes für uns den bit - tern Tod, an

Kreuzes für uns den bit - tern Tod, an

Example 4.13.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 137, mm. 10-11.

Palilogia: a repetition of a theme, either in sequence in various voices or on the same pitch in the same voice. Schütz presents Judas's question, *Was wollt ihr mir geben?* (What will you give me?) with a repeated five-note figure that is repeated up a second upon the restatement (see example 4.14). Here, Judas asks the officials what his reward will be if he turns over Jesus, thus the repetition of his question gives the vivid impression of greed and covetousness.



Example 4.14.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 11, m. 1-3.

Pathopoeia: a musical passage that seeks to arouse a passionate affection through chromaticism or some other means. In measure 4 of example 4.15, the basses ascend a chromatically scale followed by the sopranos sounding of a D against the basses E-flat in m. 5, creating a striking affect on the word *Not* during the phrase, *der du littest Not* (for which you have suffered anguish).

Example 4.15.

Schütz, *Matthäus-Passion*, SWV 479, movement 137, m. 1-5.

CHAPTER 5

PERFORMANCE CONSIDERATIONS AND CONCLUSION

It is up to the performer to consider how the rhetorical devices employed by Schütz inform performance practice. Though it is clear Schütz utilized rhetorical figures with the intent of moving the listener's affections, the modern conductor must question his or her approach at expressing the devices so as to render their meaning in a historically-informed manner. It is important that any performer of music with text begin with the words. As Board states:

Since the emancipation of the text from the music with the rise of the *seconda prattica*, composers have used the characteristics and meaning of the text to indicate the construction of the music. However, because the idea of rhetoric lies in finding the hidden meaning of the text, a performer is required to look beyond the words to the interpretation and illumination of the text through the use of rhetorical and affective devices.¹

Understanding the relationship of the text to how it is rendered rhetorically informs the performer of the meaning intended by the composer. This affords the performer the last two steps in the rhetorical procedure: *memoria* and *actio*, or *pronunciato*. As mentioned in previous chapters, these final processes focus on the memorization and delivery of the material. It is safe to assume that performers today would not attempt to memorize the *Matthäus-Passion*, but rather focus on the polished delivery and emphasis of the affective and rhetorical principles that serve to inform two areas of performance: (1) articulation and style, and (2) tempo and

¹ Ryan Board. "Dietrich Buxtehude's "Membra Jesu nostri": A study in Baroque affections and rhetoric" (DMA diss., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2006), 88.

dynamics.² In the Baroque era many theorists and composers assemble details regarding articulation for both instrumentalists and vocalists.

One of the most important early treatises on Baroque vocal articulation is Christoph Bernhard's *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier* (On the Art of Singing; or Manner) (c. 1649). As Board states, "The treatise stands at the head of a long line of voice manuals that appeared in Germany during the late seventeenth century, [and] was particularly influential because of its broad scope, wide circulation, and the fact that it was in German."³ Presented in the treatise are lists of specific expectations for the singer, including figures such as *fermo*, *accento*, *piano*, *forte*, *trillo*, *anticipatione della nota*, *anticipatione della syllaba*, *cerar della nota*, and *ardire*, which deal primarily with the technical "delivery" of the devices.⁴

Arguably one of the greatest challenges for the modern performer of Baroque vocal music is presenting the music to the listener. It is therefore advised the performer spend a great deal of time researching various approaches to Baroque performance practice before attempting to perform a work from the period.

According to Board:

By viewing the composition through the eyes of the *musicus poeticus*, the performer can more appropriately render a more satisfying performance. A performer must take the surface-level meaning of the text, and consider the multitude of symbolism provided by the various levels of rhetorical structure in order to unlock any hidden meanings in the text. This deeper

² Ibid., 89.

³ Ibid., 89.

⁴ Christoph Bernhard. *The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard*. trans. Walter Hilse. *The Musical Forum*, vol. 3 ed. William J. Mitchell and Felix Salzer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 13.

understanding of the text then informs tempo, dynamics, articulation, and other stylistic elements.⁵

Heinrich Schütz's utilization of musical rhetoric is evident throughout his substantial output. Though it is impossible to know what Schütz's precise intentions were in terms of text expression, it is clear he demonstrated a consistent application of proper rhetorical devices meant to convey the meaning of religious texts with the intent of moving the listener's affections. This aspect alone is reason enough to position Schütz as the most prominent and influential German composer of sacred vocal music in the seventeenth century. This study aimed to look at Schütz's use of musical-rhetoric by matching specific examples from his *Matthäus-Passion* with their corresponding musical-rhetorical figure. It is aspired that this presentation has shed light on an important idiosyncrasy of German Baroque music. The illumination of the development and practice of *musica poetica* will hopefully inspire more awareness and historically-informed performances of this work, as well as others by the composer.

⁵ Board, "Dietrich Buxtehude's "Membra Jesu nostri," 93.

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VITA

Joshua Lee Maize was born 8 April 1987 in Kansas City, Missouri. He graduated from Liberty High School in 2005 and received his Bachelors degree in Choral Music Education from the University of Missouri – Kansas City Conservatory of Music and Dance in 2011. After teaching elementary music for one year, he returned to school to pursue a Master’s degree at the University of Kansas. Mr. Maize is a candidate for the M.M. in both Musicology and Church Music. At KU he served as a Graduate Teaching Assistant in the Musicology division as well as Associate Conductor for KU Concert Choir. Mr. Maize will begin a Doctor of Musical Arts degree in Choral Conducting at UMKC fall of 2015.

Mr. Maize’s research interests lie primarily in music written before 1750, particularly early German Baroque vocal genres. Prior to his studies at KU, his research focused on French Baroque composer, Louis-Nicolas Clérambault. In 2010, Mr. Maize’s transcription of Louis-Nicolas Clérambault’s grand motet, *Psalms 50: Miserere mei deus* was presented in a world premiere performance by KC Collegium Vocale.

Mr. Maize is an accomplished vocal soloist and ensemble singer who has performed extensively in the United States and abroad including the Piccolo Spoleto Festival and the Prague Choral Festival. He currently sings with Kansas City-based sacred chamber ensembles Te Deum and Te Deum Antiqua. He has also been a member of KC Collegium Vocale, Spire Chamber Ensemble, and Simon Carrington Chamber Singers. Mr. Maize is a recipient of the Ellen Battell Stoeckel Fellowship from Yale University and participated as a vocal fellow at the Norfolk Chamber

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